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The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

NIC No. 00789-86
14 February 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: George Kolt
National Intelligence Officer for Europe

SUBJECT: Your Meeting Ambassador Enders, Tuesday, 18 February,
at 1715

1. We do not know if Ambassador Enders has any specific issues he wants to discuss with you, but you may want to probe him for his views on the NATO Referendum scheduled for 12 March.

2. Gonzalez has tied the NATO issue to three conditions: no Spanish integration into the NATO military structure, no nuclear weapons in Spain, and a gradual decrease in US forces. The three conditions are not a surprise but, as was to be expected, the language on them was toughened when they were put down on paper. To make matters worse, Gonzalez' long delayed national security address on 4 February was rambling and unpersuasive. In the ensuing debate Gonzalez expressed more forcefully than before the government's "moral and political obligation" to obey the will of the people as expressed in the referendum. Thus, in the process of arguing for continued NATO membership, Gonzalez has significantly restricted his freedom of maneuver should he win or lose the referendum.

2. Diminished latitude in case of a win is not a pressing worry. Rather there is a real danger that Gonzalez will lose. A Socialist union is defying the national leadership and campaigning against membership; the opposition is urging its supporters to abstain (and there are fears that some pro-NATO voters will vote "no" to express their disapproval of the three restrictive conditions and, understandably, to wound their political opponent, Gonzalez); and the polls are contradictory and continue to show that the referendum could go either way. As laid out by the Ambassador in some NODIS cables the King, Gonzalez and he (the Ambassador) are all increasingly concerned about what will happen on 12 March.


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3. In your discussion you may want to ask the Ambassador whether:

- Whether he sees any hope of containing opposition attacks against Gonzalez between now and 12 March and of having opposition leader Fraga, at the very least, urge his supporters not to vote "no".
- Whether the US and Gonzalez, either separately or together, are working on any contingency plans should the referendum be lost.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'George Kolt', with a stylized flourish at the end.

George Kolt

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